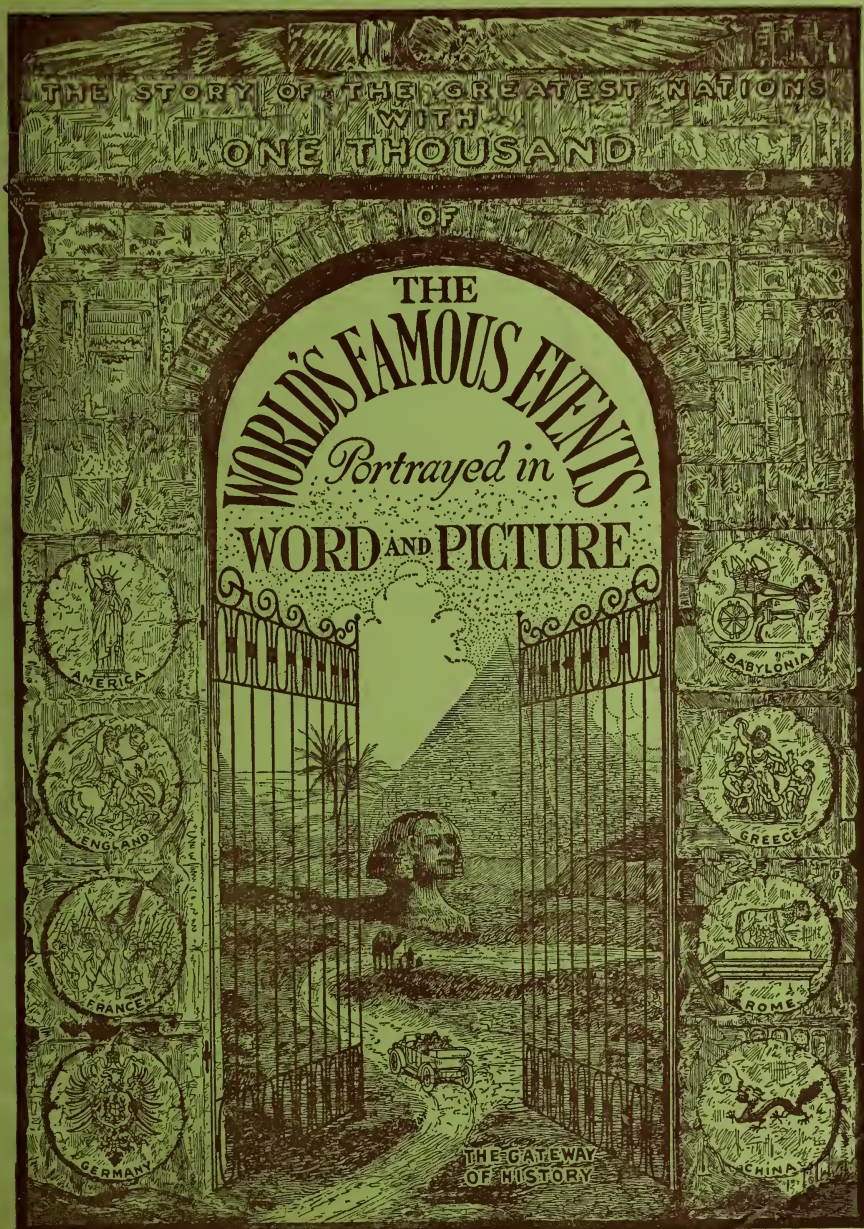


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## FINDING THE SOUTH POLE

(The Explorer Amundsen Testing His Exact Position at the Pole)

*A drawing from Amundsen's description, by Frederic de Haenen*

THE year 1912 brought Norway once more before the eyes of the world; for it was a Norwegian, Captain Roald Amundsen, who penetrated to the South Pole, the last region of our planet which had remained unknown. There are still bits of outline to be added to our maps of the far North and South. There are still jungles in Africa and South America and the Indies where the white man has not penetrated. But the last large gap has been filled. What Peary did for the North, Amundsen has done for the South. The extremes of earth have been explored.

Five men, including Captain Amundsen, left their ship, the *Fram*, about 700 miles from the pole and traveled with dog sledges over the ice field covering Ross Sea to within about 300 miles of their goal. Then they encountered a land of tremendously high mountains, and climbed a glacier to an altitude of over 10,000 feet. At this elevation, along the summit of a huge table-land, they traveled through most bitterly cold and stormy weather to the pole. They traveled in December, which, it must be remembered, is midsummer in the southern hemisphere, and gained the pole on December 14, 1911; though news of their success did not reach the world till some months later. They spent three days at the pole, making observations of the sun to assure themselves of their exact position.









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The Yearly ... of the ...



## THE NETHERLANDS

(The Mediæval Provinces Now Included in Holland and Belgium)

*Prepared specially for this series by Austin Smith*

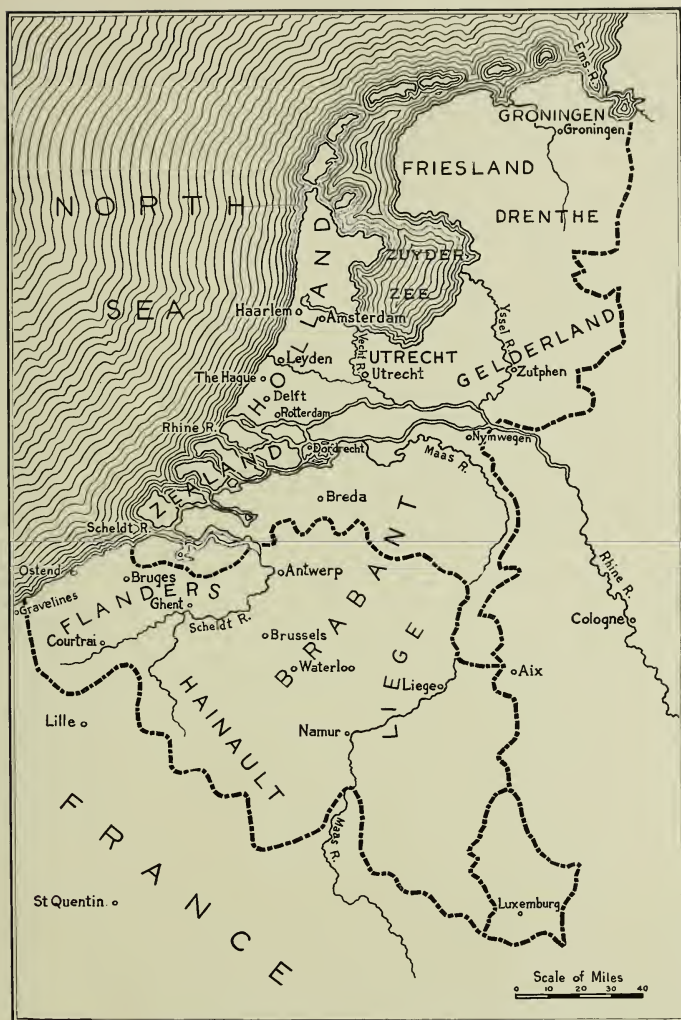
THE region shown here upon our map is geologically the newest land in Europe. That is to say, it is the low land formed by the delta of the Rhine and its neighboring rivers. Long after the rest of Europe existed, the Rhine, bearing down masses of earth from the mountains, kept filling up the shallow seas around its mouth, and so constructing Holland and northern Belgium. Hence in the middle ages these regions were called the "low lands" or Netherlands.

Only within the past century have they been apportioned into the two countries of Holland and Belgium. Always before that they had constituted a doubtful borderland between France and Germany, divided into many small provinces. Some of these were at times independent; at others they passed under German or French or even Spanish dominion. Most important of these mediæval provinces were the great bishoprics of Liege and Utrecht, the duchy of Brabant, and the counties of Flanders, Holland and Gelderland.

Even these distracted and divided Netherlands had at least two periods of greatness, the first that of the South, the rich and powerful trading cities, Ghent, Bruges and Liege, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the second that of the North, the heroic republic of Holland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.









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# THE NEW ENGLAND

Published by the New England Society, No. 10, NASSAU ST., N.Y.

THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY, No. 10, NASSAU ST., N.Y., has the honor to announce that it has just published a new and complete edition of its *Annals of the New England Society*, from 1840 to 1860. This volume contains a full and complete history of the Society, its objects, its progress, and its achievements. It is a work of great interest and value, and is highly recommended to all who are interested in the history of the New England Society.





## VELEDA ROUSES THE NETHERLANDS

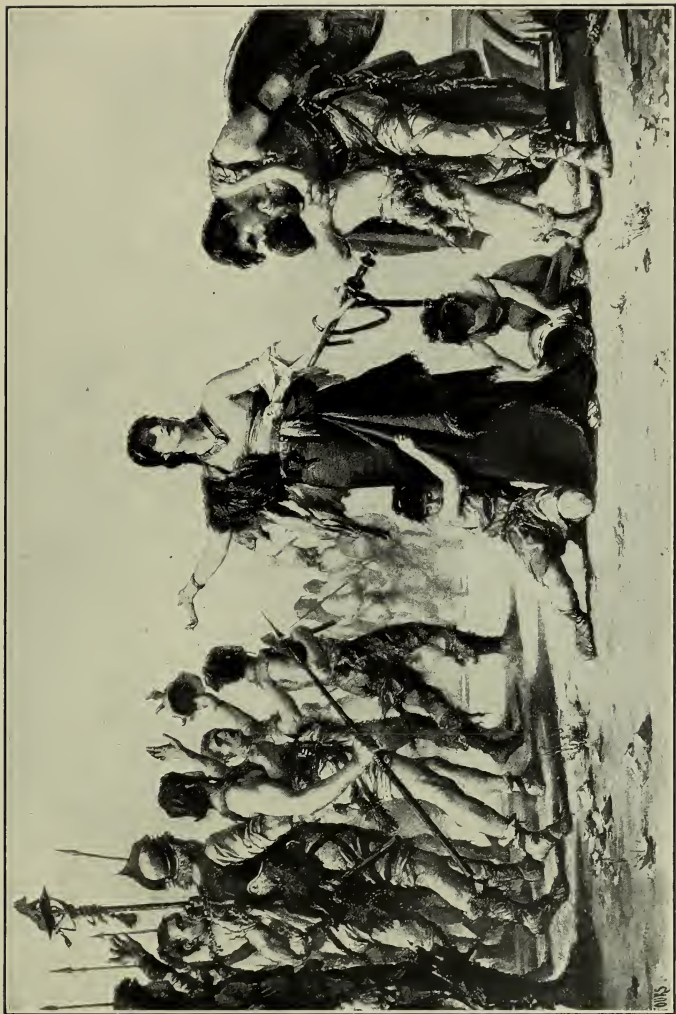
(A Prophetess Stirs the Netherlanders to Revolt Against Rome)

*From a painting by the French artist, Georges Moreau, of Tours*

**O**LDEST of all the known people of the Netherlands were the Frisians, from whom the province of Friesland is still named. Way back in Roman days these Frisians dwelt in this strange region. It was not then defended from the sea by dykes; the waters of the ocean swept at will over the low sand banks, and they were desolate, untouched by vegetation or by animal life. Only man ventured here. The Frisians built their huts on piles raised above the waters, and subsisted chiefly upon fish. Rome never conquered them; she could not reach them. So she made a sort of friendly alliance with them, promising them eternal freedom. They were known as "the free Frisians."

When Rome had conquered all France and part of Germany she became more tyrannical in her attitude toward the Netherland people, and these began a great revolt under a leader whom the Romans called Civilis. He had risen to be a general in Rome's service. But now he and his countrymen were roused by a prophetess called Velea, who promised them renewed freedom. Civilis and his followers, now half-trained to Roman methods of warfare, defeated the Romans more than once and finally made peace with them, apparently on terms which re-established their liberty. Thus we find the Netherlands asserting from the very beginning a sturdy independence.











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I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the loan of the book, "The History of the United States," by John P. Kennedy, Esq., to the New York Public Library. The book is now in the possession of the Library, and will be loaned to you as soon as it is convenient to do so. The book is a valuable one, and will be of great service to you in your researches. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. P. Kennedy, Esq.





### FLIGHT OF THE CLERGY FROM UTRECHT

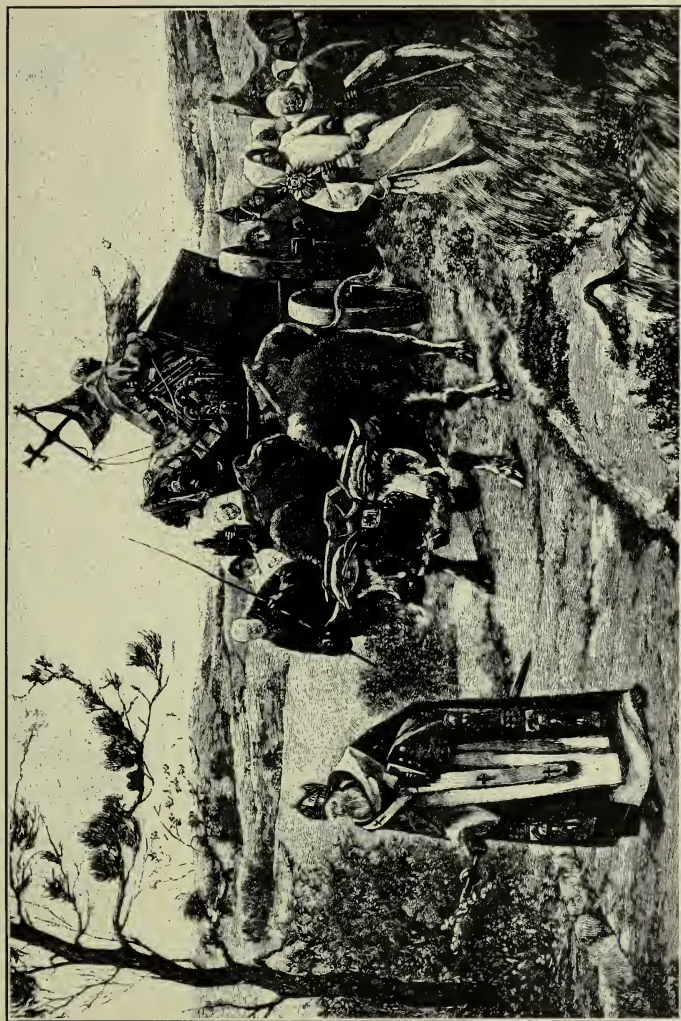
(The Bishop of Utrecht, the Last Champion of Civilization in the Netherlands  
Flees from the Northmen)

*From a painting by E. Chigot*

IN the days of Rome's downfall, the Netherlands suffered more perhaps than any other part of Europe from the ravage and destruction of those "Dark Ages" of barbarity and ignorance. The land became almost depopulated. Charlemagne did what he could for its desolate wastes, repairing the Roman canals and sea walls and building his capital of Aix or Aachen close to the borders of Belgium, so that he might beat back the barbarians of the north. This great ruler even refounded cities in the Netherlands and established the bishopric of Utrecht far out among the sand dunes to be the center and stronghold of civilization there.

But after Charlemagne's death came the Northmen, the dreaded sea-rovers of Scandinavia. These pirates found the Netherlands the first shore they encountered in sailing southward; so they plundered it again and again, until it was once more a desert. Even the sturdy and devoted bishops of Utrecht gave up at last, and fled, as our picture shows them, with all their churchly treasures, to more sheltered regions. They left their stronghold empty in its useless solitude.













## THE RISE OF THE FLEMISH CITIES

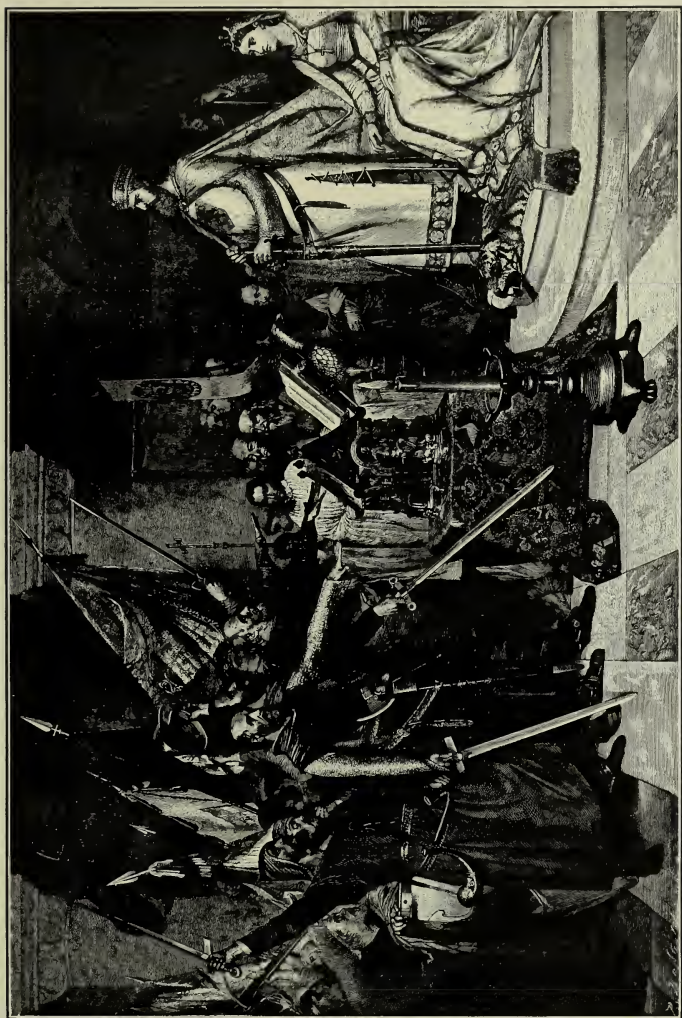
(Count Baldwin VI of Flanders Makes a Contract With the City Leaders  
Pledging Them Liberty)

*From a painting by the Flemish artist, A. Hennebecq*

OF the centuries during which the Netherlands were held by the Northmen we know very little. Gradually this region settled into a form of feudal civilization, as did the rest of Europe. When again we have any record of these sorely suffering people we are not even sure as to what extent they are still Frisians, descendants of the ancient natives, or how far we should regard them as Northmen or perhaps as a new incursion of Franks and Germans. At all events we find them building cities, each little community maintaining itself by force against the others.

Flanders stands out earliest as an important "county," ruled by a series of sturdy chieftains named Baldwin. But these Baldwins were not absolute rulers, for as early as at least the year 1070 we find a document by which one of them, Count Baldwin VI, grants a charter of liberties to the cities within his domain. It is to this charter that all the southern Netherlands looks back as the beginning of its civic liberties. Count Baldwin swore to his assembled subjects that he would not attempt to seize their towns with his soldiers or to exact moneys from them; and in return the burghers swore to support him in war with both men and money against all invaders of the land.













### BALDWIN OF THE AXE

(Count Baldwin VII of Flanders Punishes the Robber Nobles With Death)

*From a painting by the Flemish artist, Joseph Lies*

**S**TRONG in the allegiance of their city folk, the later Counts Baldwin of Flanders became among the most powerful nobles of their time. The successor of Baldwin VI, his son Baldwin VII, became known as Baldwin of the Axe, because of his customary and effective use of that weapon. This ruler proclaimed himself openly as the champion of the common folk. Flanders was infested, as was all western Europe, by robber nobles who plundered the peasantry at will. Baldwin besieged one after another of the castles of these haughty plunderers; and when he captured them, he summoned against them as witnesses the victims of their robberies. This confronting of nobles and peasants deeply impressed all the people of the time, especially as Count Baldwin acted as both judge and jury, and often as executioner as well. A nobleman convicted of wrong was put to death upon the spot, sometimes by the Count's axe, sometimes by torture.

Thus Flanders became a safe land to live in, and a prosperous one, escaping the tyranny of the aristocracy at an earlier period than any of the neighboring regions. Aided by this freedom, its cities grew strong, and its rulers also. As early as the twelfth century the Flemings were accounted the wealthiest people and their Counts the strongest rulers in all Europe.











## BALDWIN IX IN CONSTANTINOPLE

(The Netherlanders Take a Leading Part in the Crusades and the Count of Flanders is Crowned Emperor of the East)

*From a painting by the French artist, Louis Gallait*

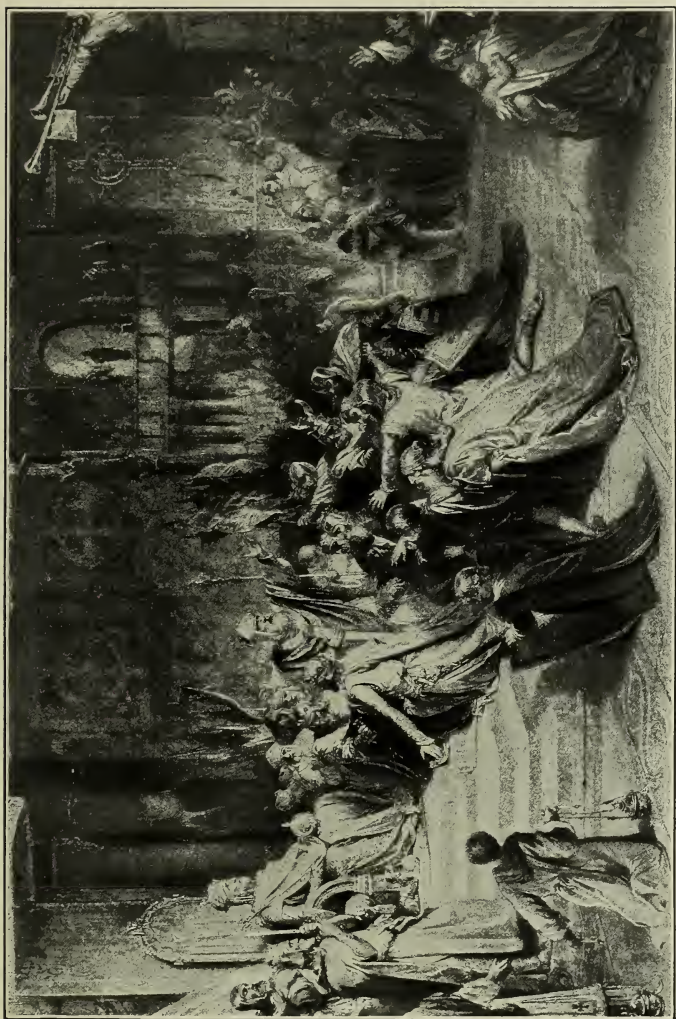
WHEN the crusading enthusiasm swept over Europe in the twelfth century, the Netherlanders with their internal strength and peace were specially secure at home and hence specially ready to venture after glory and religious strife abroad. Godfrey of Bouillon, the celebrated leader of the First Crusade, came from this region. So did many other champions of the Cross. In the Crusade commonly called the Fourth, Baldwin IX of Flanders was the leader.

When Baldwin and his army approached Constantinople they found that its Emperor, the ruler of the remnant of the ancient Roman Empire of the East, was bitterly opposed to them. So the crusaders stormed Constantinople, captured it, and placed Baldwin on its throne as Emperor of the East. Thus a descendant of ancient Frisians and wandering Northmen held the throne of the Cæsars.

In that position, regarding himself as the military defender of Christianity against the hordes of Asia, Baldwin lived and died. The people of Flanders were left more and more to their own government. Thus they grew, ever stronger, until their cities of Bruges and Ghent were the most celebrated in Europe, the largest, the wealthiest and the most independent.













## THE REVOLT OF THE NORTH

(The Nobles of Holland Capture and Slay Their Lord)

*From a painting in 1882 by the Dutch artist, L. de Herterich*

**D**URING these early centuries the northern Netherlands were wilder, more barren, and far less developed than the south. Gradually we see the Bishops of Utrecht arising once more to be as in Charlemagne's time the chief military lords of the North. Then we see them overthrown by the Counts of Holland, one of whom even rose to be an Emperor of Germany. After a time we find these Counts doing as those of Flanders had before, standing out as champions of their people against the nobles. Then, in the year 1296, the cities of the North also asserted their independence.

In the North, however, the freedom of the cities sprang from a noted tragedy. Count Floris V of Holland was beloved by his people and hated by his nobles. He had also asserted his independence against the powerful neighboring kingdoms of France and England. Hence he had among his own subjects many open friends and a few secret foes. The latter planned a hawking party at Utrecht. Count Floris was cunningly separated from his real friends and suddenly attacked by three of his nobles. He defended himself bravely, but was made prisoner and carried away. The peasantry rose in a body to rescue their beloved ruler; his captors were pursued and so hard pressed that they slew their prisoner. The infuriated peasants joined hands with the city folks to achieve revenge. The nobles dared not oppose this united strength. Many of them, both innocent and guilty, fled; others were executed. The cities became the chief power of the North.















### "THE GREAT FLEMING"

(Jacques Van Artevelde Counsels His Neighbors of Ghent to Defy France)

*From a drawing by the French artist, A. de Neuville*

THE Netherland cities had, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, reached their fullest power. France tried to conquer them and failed. In 1302 the flower of all the French nobility were almost exterminated by the Flemish townfolk in the great battle of Courtrai. Then came the "Hundred Years War" between France and England; and the Flemings, though nominally subjects of France, espoused the cause of England. Ghent was at this time the chief city of Flanders, and its leading citizen, Jacques Van Artevelde, is often called "the great Fleming."

Kings negotiated with this powerful burgher as with an equal. He was himself a wealthy aristocratic merchant; but he championed the poorer citizens of Ghent, the members of the laboring "guilds," against the rich. Van Artevelde even passed a law that compelled every merchant to join one of these laboring guilds. For himself he became a member of the brewers' guild, and so was called "the brewer of Ghent." The great King Edward III of England courted him, visited him as a friend in Ghent, and stood as godfather to his son. Thus in the end the Flemings became suspicious of their great leader, thinking him too aristocratic. He had saved Flanders from being ground to powder between England and France; he had won Flemish freedom by repeated victories on the battlefield; he had established the first democracy in Europe. Yet his own people quarreled with him and finally slew him during a riot in the streets (1345).













## THE LAST COUNT OF FLANDERS

(Count Louis Assailed in Bruges by the Victorious Men of Ghent)

*From a painting by the German artist, A. Zick*

THE downfall of Flemish independence may well be traced to the death of Jacques Van Artevelde. His powerful personality had held all the Flemings united. After his death they took to quarreling among themselves. City fought against city. Especially was there bitter strife between the two chief towns, Ghent and Bruges. Thus the Counts of Flanders who had before been living at the French court, exiles from their own land, were enabled to return and even gained some show of power. France was too exhausted by her English wars to lend the Flemish Counts any aid, but by throwing in their lot first with one city, then another, they constantly advanced their fortunes.

At length in 1380 Count Louis, the last of the ancient race of Counts of Flanders, aided Bruges against Ghent. Another Van Artevelde, the son of Jacques, was now the leader of Ghent. He headed his townfolk in a sudden attack. Bruges was stormed and Count Louis seized in the streets. He escaped by hiding under a bed, and so got back to France.

Then came a final decisive battle. Ghent, with only the unwilling troops of her half-conquered neighbor cities to support her, met all the combined forces of France and the rapidly growing state of Burgundy. The Flemings were crushingly defeated, and all the southern Netherlands was annexed to Burgundy. The cause of Flanders had really been that of democracy throughout Europe, so democracy was here set back four hundred years.













## BURGUNDY GAINS HOLLAND

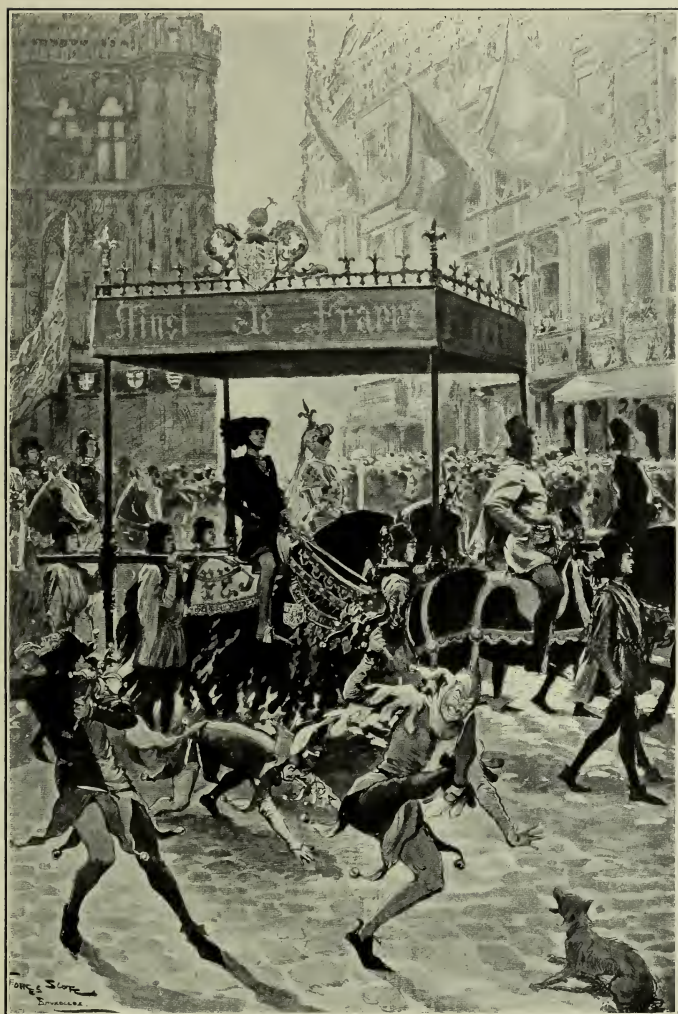
(Countess Jacqueline Rides Through Holland With the Duke of Burgundy  
Proclaiming Her Surrender)

*After a drawing by F. Scott made in Brussels*

THE "heroic age" of Flanders disappeared with the defeat of Ghent, and the establishment of Burgundian supremacy in 1384. The great Holland cities, Amsterdam and Dordrecht, also passed, though with less of tumult, under the control of Burgundy. This came about through the tragic fate of Jacqueline, the last Countess of Holland. She, as the inheritor of the domains of the ancient and well-loved Counts of Holland, became ruler of the Dutch cities in 1417. In those grim days, however, a woman had small chance of holding an inheritance except by wedding a powerful husband to defend her. Jacqueline's first husband was a prince of France, but he died. Her counsellors then wedded her, while still little more than a child, to the Duke of Brabant. But when Jacqueline's foes tried to seize her inheritance, the duke proved but a worthless champion, abused and then abandoned her. She wed again, a brother of the English king, and he fought well for her, but was defeated. Thus in the end Jacqueline was compelled to yield to the powerful duke Philip of Burgundy.

Holland had been intensely loyal to its unhappy countess, and she was obliged to ride by Duke Philip's side through each Dutch city formally announcing to its people her abdication of her power in his favor. Then she was allowed to live in peace on her own private estates, where, having thrice married for policy, she now married for love.













## GRANTING "THE GREAT PRIVILEGE"

(Mary of Burgundy Gives a Charter to the Netherlands)

*After an antique Flemish print*

IT seemed the fate of the Netherlands to fall into the hands of women. Within half a century after Jacqueline had surrendered Holland to the Burgundian dukes, their family also failed to have male heirs, and all their many lands passed to a daughter, Duchess Mary of Burgundy.

Mary's experience nearly paralleled that of poor Jacqueline. King Louis XI of France tried to seize upon her heritage. He did gain part of it; but the rich cities of the Netherlands decided that they would sooner endure Mary's feeble rule than Louis' stern one. So they united in making an agreement with Mary by which they promised to remain loyal if paid for their loyalty by the grant of a charter containing many privileges. This Mary agreed to; and in 1477 she swore to what is called the "Great Privilege" of the Netherlands, granting almost complete independence to the cities. Then the cities defended her against King Louis.

Fortunately for Mary, she chose an able husband, Maximilian of Austria, and he came to the Netherlands and ruled for her. When she died he continued to rule as regent for their baby son Philip. Philip in his turn became Duke of Austria, and thus the Netherlands passed from Burgundy to Austria. Maximilian, as regent, quarreled much with the Flemish cities and finally took away their "Great Privilege." They, however, never forgot that precious charter, and in after years they won it back again.







allies but never the defeated slaves of Rome. Indeed, the Romans relied much upon these friendly tribes in the attempt to conquer Germany. Batavia was the gathering place of the Roman troops and ships against the German national hero, Arminius. Frisian seamen manned their vessels, Frisian pilots guided them through the indescribable chaos of sea and land. When the legions of Drusus retreated before Arminius to the North Sea coast (A. D. 15) the boats which brought him back to Batavia were largely Frisian. Two of his legions could not be taken on shipboard and were forced to march along the treacherous coast. Tacitus, the Roman historian, paints for us a weird picture of the place and of their peril.

"Vitellius [the commander] at first pursued his route without interruption, having a dry shore, or the waves coming in gently. After a while, through the force of the north wind and the equinoctial season, when the sea swells to its highest, his army was driven and tossed hither and thither. The country too was flooded; sea, shore, fields, presented one aspect, nor could the treacherous quicksands be distinguished from solid ground or shallows from deep water. Men were swept away by the waves or sucked under by eddies; beasts of burden, baggage, lifeless bodies, floated about and blocked their way. The companies were mingled in confusion, now with the breast, now with the head only, above water, sometimes losing their footing and parted from their comrades or drowned. The voice of mutual encouragement availed not against the adverse force of the waves. There was nothing to distinguish the brave from the coward, the prudent from the careless, forethought from chance; the same strong power swept everything before it. At last Vitellius struggled out to higher ground and led his men up to it."

The name of the Roman general Drusus, or Germanicus as his countrymen entitled him, is the first that can be distinctly associated with the development of the Netherlands. Drusus built embankments or dykes to protect his armies from these sudden tides, and he dug canals that his ships might pass from river to river without venturing on the dangerous North Sea, for whose terrors Tacitus can not find words, declaring it inhabited by strange monsters and frightful water birds.

Drusus also began the apportioning of the land west of the Rhine into regular provinces. The Netherlands and the region just south of them were thereafter known as Germania Inferior or Lower Germany. Cities sprang up, Cologne and Nymwegen. Civilization progressed rapidly even among the slow Batavians, who were ridiculed by the poet Martial for being as stupid as they were sturdy, as foolish as fierce.

Our knowledge of these people and of their day closes abruptly with the last fragment of Tacitus. He tells with full detail of the revolt of Germania Inferior during the confusion caused by the fall of Nero (68 A. D.). Claudius Civilis, a Batavian leader, whose services had made him a general under Rome, urged his people to rebel. In a famous speech he cried out that the Romans no longer



treated the Batavians as allies, but ground them down as slaves. A prophetess called Veleda, deeply revered by the Germanic race, lent Civilis her aid. The Belgæ and other Gauls joined him, and the Roman legions were defeated and wholly driven out of the region (69 A. D.). A year later, they returned. The Gauls were subdued; Batavia was ravaged, but the Batavians and some Germans from beyond the Rhine continued the struggle, roused to frenzy by the impassioned prophecies of Veleda. Civilis made a determined and skillful resistance, and after several battles, a conference between him and the Roman general was arranged to take place upon a bridge over the river Yssel. The centre of the bridge was purposely broken away; Civilis advanced upon the ruin from one shore, the Roman from the other—and there our only manuscript of Tacitus breaks off and leaves them standing. What became of Civilis and the prophetess, we do not know.

Vaguely from other sources, we gather a general impression that the Batavians thereafter were treated with greater wisdom and justice. They remained loyal to the empire even in the days of its decline, and their race was almost exterminated in the constant strife with the hordes of Franks, Burgundians, and other Germans who in the fourth and fifth centuries surged over the feeble barrier of the Rhine and swept into Gaul. In the confused maelstrom of seething, wandering tribes that followed the downfall of Rome, the people of the low countries must have become widely scattered over Gaul. The Frisians indeed, remained upon their barren coasts, which no one coveted. But the Batavians disappeared as a separate race, and their "good meadow land" became the chief home of the Salian Franks.

These Salians gradually extended their power southward, over the ancient land of the Belgæ, and finally Clovis, the leader of the Salian Franks, rose to be the first king of France. Most of the Franks moved southward in the wake of Clovis, and by degrees portions of the Frisians occupied the land thus left almost vacant. Hence, roughly speaking we may say, that the Hollanders of to-day are the descendants of the Frisians with some small admixture of Batavians and Franks. The race, therefore, is almost wholly Teutonic, though with traces of the Roman and the Gaul. The Belgians are Franks and ancient Belgæ with a fuller Roman tint, half Teuton and half Gaul.



IN ANCIENT FLANDERS



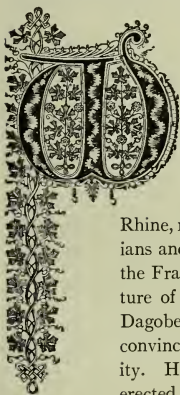


THE FLEMISH CRUSADERS

## Chapter II

### THE FEUDAL AGE

[*Authorities:* As before, also Motley, "The Rise of the Dutch Republic"; Maerlant, "Historical Mirror"; Melis Stoke, "Poetical Chronicle"; "Royal Chronicles of Cologne."]



WE have seen how the ancient civilization of Rome laid its hand upon the Netherlands, firmly upon the Batavians of the Rhine mouth and the Belgæ further south, but very feebly in the north, the wild Frisian sea-land of mystery and fear. Let us look now for the first faint glimmerings by which these regions become visible in a more modern light.

Batavia, the "good meadow" in the Delta of the Rhine, remained for centuries a doubtful border district between Frisians and Franks. The Frisians were heathen and wholly barbarian; the Franks adopted Christianity and assimilated something of the culture of the Roman world they had overrun. One Frankish king, Dagobert I, a descendant of Clovis, made a determined effort to convince the Frisians of the force and reasonableness of Christianity. He marched an army into their unprotected land and in 622 erected a church at Utrecht. But the sand dunes and the mists and marshes soon grew wearisome to Dagobert, so he marched home again.

The Frisians came to examine his church, and it disappeared. After that the Frankish kings grew feeble, and the defense of the Batavian border was left to the local chiefs. We find the Pepins, who were to supersede the family of Clovis on the Frankish throne, first rising into prominence in this valiant strife. Both of the royal races which supplied the early sovereigns to France and Germany

had thus their origin in the Netherlands, which to-day belong to neither country.

Pepin of Landen, the earliest distinguishable ancestor of the mighty Charlemagne, was lord of Brabant, the frontier land along the Maas River, which he held against the Frisians. His grandson Pepin of Heristal, defeated Radbod, King of the Frisians, and compelled him to diminish his title to that of Duke, as a subject of the Franks. This Pepin was the real chief of the Franks, "Mayor of the Palace" to a sluggard king. Yet despite Pepin's power his son, Charles Martel, had to fight Radbod again, and later was obliged to defeat Radbod's son before the resolute Frisians would yield him even a nominal sovereignty.

Charles Martel refounded Dagobert's vanished church at Utrecht and made the Irish Saxon Willibrod, the first bishop of the northern Netherlands. Willibrod's labors extended from 692 to 739 and under him such small portion of the Frisians as accepted the Frankish yoke, began the practice of a sort of hybrid faith, mingling their ancient superstitions and barbarous rites with fragments of the Christian ritual, little understood. Willibrod was followed in his episcopate by Winfred or Boniface, an English Saxon, the celebrated converter of the Germans. Boniface, dissatisfied with the debased and debasing worship of his Utrecht flock, insisted upon fuller conformity with the teachings of the Church, and met a martyr's death, welcoming his slayers with open arms (775).

The first real conqueror of the Frisians was Charlemagne himself. He was probably born in one of his family's ancestral homes in Belgium near Liege, and gained his earliest warlike training in strife with these wild pagans of the marshland. During his first Saxon wars, the Frisians aided their Saxon kinsmen; but by degrees the mingled kindness and sternness of Charlemagne won them to his side. Half of them, however, were slain before this result was achieved, or they were transported by the resolute monarch to other portions of his domains.

By wisdom rather than by force Charlemagne attached the remainder to his empire. They were confirmed in the proud title by which they called themselves, "the Free Frisians." Thus reassured, they were induced to look with some favor upon Christianity, hitherto sternly rejected as being a mark of submission to the Franks. Charlemagne gave them a written constitution guaranteeing their ancient laws. "The Frisians" so runs the wording, probably far older than the date when it was written down, "shall be free so long as the wind blows out of the clouds and the world stands."

If we attempt to picture the Netherlands at the time they were thus incorporated into the empire of Charlemagne, that is at the opening of the ninth century, we see in the North a land still unformed, where churches were built on artificial hills, and bishops went about in boats, where a few rude dykes held back the waters in some places, and a few rude canals, sadly decayed since Roman days, partly regulated the rivers' overflow. Utrecht or Trajectum was the only town of note,

though Charlemagne built a palace at Nymwegen. The people, recently converted, were still rude and barbarous. Yet they cultivated farms, were sole masters of the art of weaving a certain much admired cloth, and were already noted as shrewd and venturesome traders, driving their cattle and horses for sale as far as Paris. They were sailors, too, and sought the markets of England as far north as York.

In the south, civilization rose much higher. There were several important cities including not only Liege, the Carlovingian home, but also Ghent and Bruges, Brussels and Antwerp. One chronicler speaks of the land as "rich." Brabant, "overflowing with milk and honey." The dykes and canals were extensive and well protected, whole communities sharing amicably in their carefully regulated benefits. In Flanders there were even "guilds," that is, associations, among citizens pledging the members to mutual support in case of disaster. These took on a political tone of opposition to government oppression, and in consequence they were suppressed by Charlemagne and his successors. Unfortunately the full details and purposes of these ancient associations have not been handed down to us, but the guilds evidently stand at the basis not only of the city development of the Middle Ages, but also of modern trade unionism.

Thus, whether we look to the "guilds" in Flanders, or to the written constitution of the "Free Frisians," we find that, in the Netherlands, the ancient liberty of the savage was never wholly lost, never wholly forgotten. It struggled on against all the tyranny of the feudal ages, and brought forth the earliest flower of liberty in modern times.

The bright promise of Charlemagne's reign faded, as we know, in every portion of his broad empire. His son and grandsons exhausted in civil war the lives and resources of their people. The Northmen plundered the coasts almost with impunity.

Then ensued a period of direst tragedy. The North Sea coast was of all lands the most exposed to the Norse raids, and it was harried without mercy. Utrecht, the bishop's city, was plundered as early as 834. Soon all Friesland lay wholly in the invaders' power. They came there year after year, and established permanent camps to avoid the necessity of returning home between expeditions. Ghent was seized by them in 851. They learned to use horses instead of ships, and rode unopposed over all the Netherlands.

What portion of the original inhabitants remained in the conquered lands, it would be difficult to say. Those who survived were ruled by Norse dukes, Heriold, Roruk, and Godfrey. The last named is even called "King of Friesland." He extended his ravages beyond Cologne, and his men stabled their horses in its cathedral built by Charlemagne. The feeble Carlovingian Emperor made Godfrey duke of the regions he had plundered (882); the inhabitants were little better than his slaves. During his reign every "free Frisian" was compelled to go about with a halter looped around his neck.

But the relief of the peasantry was near. Duke Godfrey enlarged his demands. His territories, he said, produced no wine, therefore he must have lands higher up the Rhine. He interfered in the civil wars of the Carolingians, and was slain (885). A few years later, the German Emperor Arnulf completely broke the power of the Netherland Norsemen in the great battle of Louvain (891).

After Louvain, the Netherlanders were left to themselves. The Emperors were too desperately beset elsewhere to give much attention to this impoverished portion of their domains; the influx of the Norse sea robbers had exhausted itself. Dukes, counts and bishops, acknowledging some vague allegiance to Emperor or Pope or to the King of France, bore such rule as to themselves seemed good, over such regions as they could master. Most prominent of the lordships that thus developed, were those of the Counts of Holland, and of Flanders, the Dukes of Lorraine, and of Brabant, and the Bishops of Utrecht, and of Liege.

Flanders was the district west of the Scheldt, that is the most Gallic portion of the Netherlands, adjoining France and partly belonging to it, though the inhabitants, the Flemings, were mainly Germanic and regarded themselves as a race wholly separate from the French. The first remembered Count of Flanders was Baldwin of the Iron Arm, who ruled from 858 to 879. He had been a "chief forester" in the service of the Emperor Charles the Bald, and managed after the reckless fashion of the time to wed his master's daughter, Judith. The lady had already been Queen of England, was widow indeed, of two successive English kings, Æthelwulf and Æthelbald, when Baldwin carried her off perforce from her villa at Senlis and made her his bride. The Northmen were not the only robbers of the age. The Emperor after much show of empty wrath, finding that Judith herself seemed not over-angry, made peace with Baldwin and confirmed the marriage, was glad to make such peace perhaps, for along all that coast the iron-armed Fleming stood alone as a bulwark against the Norsemen.

The sons and grandsons of Baldwin and his queen, inherited the fame and the rank of their sire, and upheld them well. They acted as independent monarchs, not hesitating to war against the King of France or even the Emperor when occasion came. Indeed Baldwin IV "of the Comely Beard" defeated both Emperor and King and extorted additions to his territory from both Germany and France. His son, Baldwin V, was Count of Flanders when William the Conqueror won England and William wedded the Fleming's daughter after having been twice repulsed by the haughty lady. Baldwin VII was known as Baldwin of the Axe. Armed with his favorite weapon, an iron axe, he established peace and insisted on its preservation throughout the land. Many a robber baron fell beneath the axe or was seized and executed at the complaint of the peasantry. Another Baldwin, the ninth, headed a crusade and made himself Emperor of Constantinople (1204) rather neglecting his government at home for the sake of

his glory abroad, and leaving Flanders to much internal disaster and civil war.

Farther north the Counts of Holland emerge from obscurity in 992, when a certain Count Dirk of Kennemerland, having shown himself a gallant warrior against the Northmen, was by Charles the Simple intrusted with the defense of the entire region around him and given the title of Dirk I of Holland. He was followed by a long line known among their people as Dirk (Dietrich, Theodoric) or Floris (Florence), several of whom rose to prominence and extended their sway over Friesland and Zealand, as well as over their own smaller province among the Rhine morasses to which the name Holland was at first confined.

These Counts were at constant war with their rivals, the Bishops of Utrecht. The German Emperors, dreading the ever increasing influence of the Holland Counts over the wild Frisians, sought to weaken the rebellious noblemen by conferring their fiefs upon the more loyal Bishops. But not even to the Emperor would the sturdy Dirks yield an inch of territory. So between Utrecht and Holland there was constant strife. One war specially memorable began in 1058, when Holland was invaded by the warlike Bishop William I, at the head of his own troops, a large number of neighboring allies and also a great force sent in the name of the child Emperor, Henry IV. Count Floris I of Holland, met the overwhelming masses of his enemies at Dordrecht, entrapped their cavalry in pits and then scattered their infantry. The chronicles of the time with their usual prodigality of numbers, assert that sixty thousand of the allied troops were slain.

Undiscouraged by the disaster, Bishop William, the mightiest prelate of his age, raised a second army of invasion. This also Floris repelled; but exhausted by his personal efforts in the battle, he, rather imprudently it would seem, lay down beneath a tree to sleep. There he was found by some of the enemy who, having killed him, attacked and slew the larger portion of his men (1060).

The defeat seemed to portend the total extinction of the county of Holland; for Dirk, the little son of Floris, was but a child. Bishop William took possession of the helpless land; whereupon the desperate widow of Floris sought aid from the Flemings and married Robert, a son of their great Count Baldwin V. Robert fought so valiantly for Holland that the Emperor, Bishop William's protector, sent to the scene an Imperial army under Godfrey the Hunchback, Duke of Lorraine (1071). Robert was driven back upon the coast lands, forced to take refuge among the marshes and the dunes. "Count of the waters," he is dubbed by the jesting chroniclers.

For a time Godfrey and Bishop William held all Holland and Friesland in their hands. This, however, was the period of the first great strife between Emperor and Pope. The young Emperor Henry IV had not yet bowed to Pope Gregory at Canossa; instead he was upheld and encouraged in his defiance of the Papal power by both Duke Godfrey and Bishop William, the two most powerful



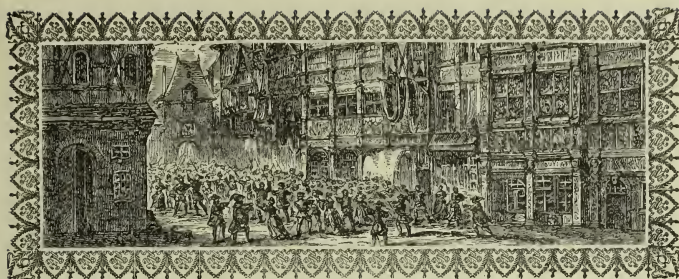
of his subjects. So long as they lived the Emperor was triumphant. It was William who led the council of Worms in passing the resolution to depose the "perfidious monk on the papal throne;" and from his great cathedral at Utrecht, William preached to the Imperial court a most fiery sermon against the Pope. On the very day of his preaching, according to the story, lightning blasted his cathedral. That same year he died (1076); Godfrey of Lorraine perished also, assassinated in the city of Delft, which he himself had built to be the capital of his new possessions in Holland. The sudden death of these, the two strongest supporters of the Emperor, was very generally regarded as an evidence of the wickedness of upholding him against the Pope.

In the civil war that broke out everywhere against Henry, little Dirk of Holland recovered his possessions, the more readily since his step-father Robert had now become Count of Flanders, and the new Duke of Lorraine was that Godfrey of Bouillon who headed the first Crusade.

Crusading was much in favor among the Netherland barons, and perhaps it was a fortunate thing for the exhausted provinces that the military ardor of their rulers thus found vent at a distance rather than at home. The wars among the various lordships became less frequent and less extravagant. We hear of no more indecisive battles with "sixty thousand slain;" though perhaps this is only because we approach nearer days and more exact mathematics. The strife of Emperors and Popes continued. In 1248, the Pope having declared the Emperor Frederick II deposed, Count William II of Holland was chosen as the Emperor's successor and solemnly inaugurated. Soon however, he was compelled to hurry home to suppress a formidable revolt among the Frisians. It was winter, and the marshmen lured him onward over the frozen shallows until he and his heavily armored horse broke through the ice. He could neither fight nor flee, and the peasants slew him in triumph (1256).

Holland was thus plunged again into turmoil; and indeed all Germany suffered for twenty years from "the Great Interregnum," during which there was no Emperor, and every locality, every little town, had to depend upon itself for defense against the swarms of robber bands which revelled in the universal anarchy. In the tumult and disaster Friesland almost disappears from our view, but we know that in 1282, a sudden great inrushing of the waters swept away the protecting sand dunes, and the ocean flooded much of the ancient land. The broad "Zuyder Zee" or sea was formed where before had been only a lake. Towns and villages were destroyed, and fifteen thousand people drowned despite boats and dykes and every other aid. The whole face of the land was changed. Friesland was cut in two. What little was left of the province south of the Zuyder Zee was easily annexed by Holland. The isolated northern portion became practically independent, a republic of the poor, a dangerous far-off wilderness which no army would dare to penetrate, where no noble would care to live.



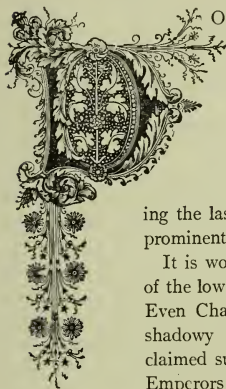


THE ATTACK ON VAN ARTEVELDE

## Chapter III

### RISE OF THE GREAT CITIES

[*Authorities:* As before, also Blok, "History of the People of the Netherlands"; Juste, "History of Belgium"; Froissart, "Chronicles"; Comines, "Memoirs."]



DOWN to the close of the thirteenth century, we can extract from the records of the Netherlands little except the titles of its nobles and the dreary tale of their endless, profitless wars waged for a little territory, a little honor more or less. But by the year 1300, the Low Country cities had grown greater than their lords. In this land and in this alone of all Europe, do the citizens stand out during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, as holding a more prominent place than either the nobility or kings.

It is worth noting that there had never been any real monarchs of the low countries. The Romans accepted the Batavians as allies. Even Charlemagne left the "Free Frisians" their own laws. The shadowy Norse king endured but for a moment. France never claimed supremacy except over part of Flanders; and the German Emperors were constrained to exercise their feeble authority over the Netherlands by deputy through its own local rulers, Bishops of Utrecht or Liege, or Dukes of Lorraine. The Counts of Flanders or of Holland might indeed be regarded as independent kings of their domains, especially after the "Great Interregnum," during which young Dirk of Holland completely humbled Utrecht. Both of these semi-regal houses however, waned in power, while the cities of the land grew strong and, recognizing their strength at last, asserted their supremacy.

How was it that these cities had so advanced in wealth, in population and in-

telligence? The story is not clear to read, though much study has been expended on it and argument has waxed hot. Dimly we know that the great Flemish municipalities, Ghent and Bruges, came down from Roman times and were never wholly destroyed. Utrecht and Liege grew up as bishop's courts, then turned upon their feeble masters. The other more northern cities were of later growth. Wealth came to all of them through industry and trade. The Flemings were the cloth weavers of Europe; the towns of Holland held control of the fisheries at a time when all Catholic Europe dined on fish during the long periods of abstinence commanded by the Church. The Netherlands, like the Frisians of old, were bold travellers by both land and sea, shrewd traffickers, and sturdy holders of their own. They became the merchants of Europe. As to their liberties, these had been granted inch after inch by generations of Dutch and Flemish counts who, cautious bargainers themselves, had seen that there was much more to be gained by a steady income of taxation from prosperous merchants than could be secured by a single complete plundering, which would leave the victims without means to continue their profitable toil. So the Dirks and Baldwins, the Godfreys of Lorraine and the Johns of Brabant had encouraged trade.

Various Netherland cities seem to have had charters or some sort of grant which made them partly self-governing, as early as 1060. Belgium celebrates its civic independence as originating in a document conferred on the municipalities of Flanders by Baldwin VI. Then comes a more definite event. In 1127, when Charles the Good was Count of Flanders, there came a famine in Bruges. A few of the leading merchants and lesser nobles gathered all the grain into their barns and held it for famine prices. Despite their protests, Charles ordered the granaries thrown open to the people. A conspiracy was formed against him by the disappointed speculators, and he was slain. Then the people rose in their fury against the murderers, besieged them in their castles and mansions and killed them all, those who were captured being tortured to death.

Following on this grim tragedy and grim reprisal, the men of Bruges and other places took oath to one another (1128) that they would acknowledge no prince who did not rule the country honestly and well. From this period we may fairly date the beginning of the supremacy of the cities or, as they and their people are sometimes called, the communes. These did not yet assert independence, but they began to recognize their own strength, to trust in themselves. Their era of wealth and splendor also commenced. A writer of the times asserts that in 1184, Ghent sent twenty thousand armed men to aid the King of France, and Bruges sent many thousand more. We need not accept the numbers as exact, but it is certain that at this time Flanders held over forty cities, Brabant had twelve, Hainault seven, Liege six. By the year 1240, the preponderance of the cities was so established that Count Guy of Flanders was aided in his government by an "ad-

visory council," consisting of the head magistrates of the five principal communes.

In the north the cities were slower of development. In all of what we now call Holland, there were at the close of the twelfth century not more than seven or eight chartered cities, and it was not until 1296, that the northern towns imitated their neighbors of the south by combining in opposition to the nobles. The occasion was similar to that which had roused the Flemings against the murderers of Charles the Good. Floris V of Holland had been shifting his alliance between England and France. Moreover, his nobles were jealous of his great popularity among the common people; they distrusted his designs. So a dark conspiracy was formed, which certainly involved the King of England, and perhaps other foreign rulers as well, though all the secret windings of the treachery may never be unveiled. Floris was decoyed to Utrecht and there separated from his personal attendants during a hawking party. Deep in the woodlands, he was seized by some of his own nobles, who until the last moment had remained fawning on him with false pledges. Bound hand and foot, he was hurried to the seashore to be sent to England. But news of the seizure had become noised abroad. All along the coasts, the people rose in arms for his rescue; so that the conspirators, unable to escape with their victim by sea, strove to carry him off inland. Again they found themselves encircled by the infuriated people; and in desperation they slew their dangerous prisoner. His sad story has become one of the chief themes of the poetic literature of Holland.

The murder did not save the conspiring nobles. So devotedly had Floris been loved, that the people everywhere swore to avenge his death. The false lords who were proved to have been in the plot were executed; others fled in terror from Holland; and the enfeebled remainder lost much of their authority. The burghers and even the country peasants assumed some voice in governing the land. The line of Floris died out with his weak son John, and there was much war both at home and with the Flemings. Finally whatever dignity still remained attached to the vacant throne of Holland, passed through the female line to the Counts of Hainault.

Meanwhile, the power and splendor of the Flemish cities were reaching to their fullest assertion. Ever since the early days of the partition of Lothair's kingdom (843), the Flemish counts had vaguely acknowledged the King of France as their overlord. But his supremacy remained an idle name until the great battle of Bouvines in 1204. In this decisive contest, the German Emperor Otho, backed by all the forces of the Netherlands, was defeated by the French. Thereafter the Flemings were left without German help, and could scarcely maintain their independent stand alone. The French king asserted more and more authority over them, until the Flemish Counts retained but a shadow of their ancient greatness.

In 1297, Count Guy rebelled against King Philip the Fair, the shrewdest,

craftiest, strongest monarch of his time. After four years of wrangling, Philip deposed and imprisoned the count, declared Flanders confiscated, and ruled it through his own officials. With his haughty queen, Joan of Navarre, he paid a visit to the great cities there, Lille and Ghent and Bruges. The royal pair were astounded. "I thought I was the only queen here," said Joan, "but I find a thousand who can dress as richly as I."

From that time, both Philip and she seemed to set their evil hearts on ruining Flanders, on bringing its proud citizens to the same hideous yoke of slavery that ground French peasants in the dust. The charters and privileges of the cities were ignored; magistrates who protested were cast into prison; taxes were heaped upon taxes; French troops insulted the citizens; French officials laughed at them.

In 1302, rebellion flared up everywhere. The lower classes of Bruges took the first step, as they had in the days of Charles the Good. Issuing suddenly from their city, they attacked and slew the French in the forts around. Then, returning secretly to Bruges by night, they fell upon the Frenchmen there, in the early dawning. The foreigners were caught wholly unprepared, while the townfolk had made thorough plans for the assault. Some portion of each French soldier's equipment had been stolen by his hosts; chains were stretched across the streets to prevent a charge. Even the women took part in the fray, tossing the hated Frenchmen out of the windows, or helping to drag them to the shambles where they were slaughtered like cattle. The "Bruges matins" as it is called, was a massacre rather than a fight.

The old Flemish standard was at once unfurled everywhere in the province. Only Lille and Ghent, whose strong garrisons were now upon their guard, remained in possession of the French. King Philip hastened to raise a powerful army. All the nobles of his kingdom marched against Bruges. Most of the nobility of Flanders, of Brabant, and of Hainault joined them. Only a few Flemish lords cast in their lot with the commons.

The opposing forces met at Courtrai in the noted "Battle of the Spurs" (1302). The Flemings are said to have numbered sixty thousand, the French still more. So confident were the latter of success that we are told they brought with them casks of ropes to hang every rebel who had slain a Frenchman. Queen Joan, with the chivalry of the time, had sent her soldiers a message that when they were killing the Flemish pigs they must not overlook the Flemish sows.

But the French knights quarrelled amongst themselves; they sneered at their Netherland allies; and, the spirit of rivalry being thus aroused in many breasts, each faction charged forward blindly to outdo the other. Thus in tumultuous rush they came upon the Brugeois—or rather they came upon a ditch, a small canal that lay as an unseen trap in front of the burgher army. Into this ditch plunged the chivalry of France, so that the burghers had little more to do than

beat their enemies' brains out as the victims lay helpless before them. The French were utterly defeated. Twenty thousand were slain. Of gilded spurs, emblems of highest rank, seven hundred, or according to some accounts, four thousand were gathered from the battle field. The nobility of France was almost exterminated in that fatal charge.

King Philip hastened to raise fresh forces. The Flemings, drunk with pride and self-confidence, began a war of invasion against Holland; in which they were defeated and their fleet destroyed. The cities quarrelled among themselves. Fresh battles, less decisive than Courtrai, were fought against the French. Amid all these difficulties the resolution of the sturdy merchants seemed only to increase. Their cities were practically emptied of men, the whole nation took the field. King Philip in despair cried out that it seemed to rain Flemings; and he made peace with them, granting almost all they asked.

From this time forward, the Flemish counts become practically exiles from their own land, mere servants of the French king, warring against the Flemish cities with his aid. United, the cities might have defied all foes, but they were generally quarrelling among themselves. Their merchants were rivals for the trade of Europe, and the disasters of one metropolis meant the aggrandizement of others. Only some common danger, imminent and obvious, could ever unite them for a moment.

Ghent was aristocratic in its government and hence was usually to be found in alliance with its count; Bruges was democratic and relied for support upon the smaller towns and country folk. Lille soon became separated from the rest of Flanders, fell into the power of the French King, and was united permanently to France. In 1328, twelve thousand Brugeois were defeated at Cassel by their Count Louis and his Frenchmen, the Flemings standing up heroically against their foes and fighting till the last man fell. After that, Bruges sued for peace, and Ghent became the chief city of the Netherlands.

In 1335, began the long war, the Hundred Years' War between France and England. This had a vast influence upon the fortunes of the Netherlands. In the first place, England was at that time the chief sheep-raising country; and Flanders and the other Belgic provinces, the cloth makers of Europe, imported English wool in vast quantities. This mutually profitable commerce drew England and Flanders into close economic relations. The Flemish count, Louis, after crushing the army of Bruges, grew more and more domineering. He insulted the burghers, and they endured it; he interfered with their English trade, and they rebelled.

At the head of this new rebellion stood the weavers of Ghent, and at the head of the Ghent weavers, chief of their guild, stood Jacques Van Artevelde, sometimes called "the great Fleming," a far-seeing social reformer and revolutionist, destined



to become one of the main economic forces of his age. The Artevelde had long been among the leading families of Ghent, and Jacques, brilliant and eloquent, shrewd and energetic, came naturally to be the chief burgher of the city. As "Captain" of Ghent he was the recognized leader of the people's party throughout Flanders, and commanded their forces in a battle in which he overthrew the aristocratic adherents of Count Louis.

So strong became the position of Van Artevelde, that when the war broke out between France and England, the rival monarchs dealt with him as with an independent prince. Each sought his alliance. Philip of France reminded him of his feudal allegiance. Edward came in person to the Netherlands, visited the Ghent captain as an equal, and offered him vast commercial advantages for Flanders. Van Artevelde saw only too plainly that, whichever side he joined, the Netherlands would become the theatre of the war and be exposed to all its miseries. Hence he sought to maintain a middle position between the two contestants. So skillfully did he manage that it was actually agreed by treaty that Flanders, despite her feudal dependence upon France, was to remain neutral throughout the war.

This neutrality did not long continue. Count Louis naturally intrigued to reestablish his shrunken authority. His efforts caused an angry outbreak against him in Bruges. The people sought to make him prisoner; and, barely escaping with his life, he fled to France. When he returned with French troops, Van Artevelde allied himself openly with England.

The main difficulty in persuading the Flemings to this step was their oath of allegiance to France. Therefore upon the Ghent captain's advice, Edward reasserted an ancient hereditary claim to the French throne. The burghers were thus relieved of their conscientious scruples, and readily joined this new made "King of France" in his attacks upon his rival. English and Flemings combined drove the French out of the Netherlands. Flemish marines aided Edward in his great naval victory off Sluys, in which the French navy was destroyed. Into such distress was King Philip driven that he negotiated a separate peace with Flanders, remitting all taxes and making the province practically an independent state under Jacques Van Artevelde (1340).

The Ghent Captain or "Ruward of Flanders" as he was now called, proceeded to a reorganization of his country, giving the common people power above the aristocracy. The main opposition encountered was in his own city, where the aristocrats had still the upper hand. Artevelde joined the popular "brewers' guild," whence he has been called the brewer of Ghent, though he probably knew nothing of the actual trade. There were street battles, a massacre of aristocrats at Bruges, five hundred armed men slain in a strife between the guilds in the public square at Ghent. Finally the commons triumphed everywhere. Artevelde reached the summit of his career.



His influence extended far beyond Flanders. The poor folk throughout Europe heard of this land where the commons ruled. Uprisings were attempted in other countries. The Italian poet Petrarch sang of Van Artevelde, and encouraged the rebellion of Rienzi at Rome. The hideous revolt of the Jacquerie in France is attributed to the Flemish example.

In the end, "the Great Fleming" fell a victim to the rash forces he had evoked. Edward of England became too friendly with him, visiting him repeatedly in Ghent, calling him "dear comrade." They stood as godfathers to each other's children. All this aroused the suspicion and perhaps the jealousy of Artevelde's fellow citizens, a suspicion which Count Louis of Flanders knew well how to fan into flame. The intrigues of Louis became so dangerous that Artevelde formed the bold project of stripping him of his rank, and creating a new Count of Flanders, the young English Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards famous in history as the Black Prince.

This was farther than the Flemings would go. They might quarrel with Count Louis, hold him prisoner, slay him even; but they were still loyal to his house, their rulers for uncounted centuries. They accused Van Artevelde of having sold himself wholly to England. There was a sudden tumult; and the great chieftain was slain in the streets, struck down, torn to pieces almost, by a mob of those commons who had been his most devoted adherents (1345).

His passionate plea to his assailants has come down to us in the chronicle of Froissart "Such as I am, you yourselves have made me: you formerly swore you would protect me against all the world; and now, without any reason, you want to murder me. You are certainly masters to do it, if you please; for I am but one man against you all. Think better of it, for the love of God: Recollect former times and consider how many favors and kindnesses I have conferred upon you."

Though he could not save himself, Artevelde did not die unavenged. The people recovered from their sudden frenzy and repented of their deed. They accused Count Louis of having fomented the disturbance, and when he came hurrying to reassert his power, they drove him once more out of Flanders. The next year he perished in the English victory at Crecy and was succeeded by his son Louis of Male, the last of the ancient race.

Meanwhile Flanders, released from Artevelde's restraining hand, fell into anarchy. City fought against city; guild against guild. Louis of Male was able to reassert his dominion, though France was too exhausted by the English war to give him aid. Finally another revolt broke out in Ghent in 1380, and Louis laid siege to the city.

Finding themselves in utmost danger, the men of Ghent went to the house of Van Artevelde's son Philip, the godson of the English queen. Philip had lived quietly among his neighbors until he was past the age of forty years. Now, despite

his protests, he was forced for his father's sake to become the leader of the city; and once aroused, Philip proved not unworthy of his people's faith. At first he counselled submission. Ghent was starving; and Philip, going himself to Louis's camp, pleaded for mercy. The Count fiercely demanded that all the citizens should come out to him unarmed and barefoot, with ropes about their necks, to be dealt with as he chose. Philip refused to submit to these grim terms; and the burghers, finding courage in despair, became soldiers again, as their fathers had been under Philip's father.

A famous contest followed. Louis was forced to raise the siege of Ghent; but the merchants of Bruges aided him against their rivals. The lands of Ghent were ravaged. Van Artevelde with his fleets gathered provisions from distant lands. He captured city after city from the Count. Suddenly the troops of Ghent marched upon Bruges and stormed it. Louis and his knights were defeated, and the haughty Count had to hide for his life in the house—under the bed, says one narrator—of a poor widow till he found a chance to flee. Bruges was sacked. So were the other cities that upheld the aristocratic cause. Once more an Artevelde of Ghent became undisputed master of Flanders.

For two years Philip defended his land against all the forces of France and Burgundy combined. But at last his troops were defeated by overwhelming numbers and he himself perished, sword in hand, at the battle of Roosebeke (1382). The town of Roosebeke is close to Courtrai, and the French felt that this victory balanced the defeat "of the spurs." In fact Froissart pauses to point out the importance of Roosebeke as checking the vast movement of peasant revolt which was everywhere in progress. The downfall of the Flemish burghers was a calamity to the common folk through all of Europe.

For two years afterward the men of Ghent still heroically defended their city. But the rest of Flanders yielded to Count Louis. He died in 1384, and as he left no direct heirs, the countship passed through his daughter to her husband, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Philip made peace with Ghent. His supremacy was acknowledged, and as he ruled mildly, yet with all the power of Burgundy behind him, his authority was not opposed. The "heroic age" of the Flemish guilds was at an end. It is generally reckoned as extending from the revolt of Bruges in 1127 to the defeat at Roosebeke, a period of more than two hundred and fifty years.



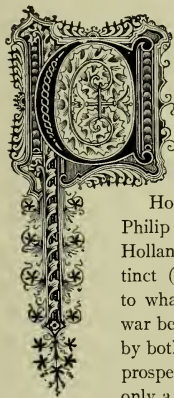


MARY OF BURGUNDY ENTREATING PARDON FOR HER COURTIER'S

## Chapter IV

### THE BURGUNDIAN PERIOD

[*Authorities:* As before, also B'ok, "History of the People of the Netherlands"; Robertson, "History of the Reign of Charles V"; Armstrong, "The Emperor Charles V."]



QUADRUALLY the house of Burgundy obtained possession of the entire Netherlands. Philip the Bold was a son of the French King John, and was given the duchy of Burgundy by his father in recognition of his knightly conduct at Poitiers (1356), where almost alone, he had defended his father and striven to protect him from capture by the English.

How Flanders fell to Philip in 1384, we have seen. His grandson Philip the Good secured Holland, Hainault and Brabant. In Holland the ancient line of the Dirks and Florences became extinct (1345), and the sovereignty passed through the female line to what was called the house of Bavaria. There was a long civil war between mother and son, during which the Dutch cities, courted by both sides and taking small part with either, rose to a commercial prosperity rivalling that of the Flemish towns. Utrecht was still only a bishop's see, but Dordrecht, at that time the chief city of the realm, became a great commercial centre. So also did Amsterdam and Delft. The North made such giant strides in advance upon the South, that during the early years of the fifteenth century, William VI of Holland shared equally with the Burgundian dukes in the rule over not only the territory but also the wealth of the Netherlands.

William VI of Holland left no sons, only a daughter Jacqueline whose tragic, romantic, pitiable career is celebrated in history. Even the dry chronicles

of the time cannot tell Jacqueline's story without lamentation, without bursts of poetry. They describe her as being good as she was beautiful, gentle yet strong, and pure and heroic, a worthy rival of her contemporary, Joan of Arc, who was freeing France from England, while Jacqueline fought for Holland against Burgundy.

Her father laid careful plans that she should succeed him in his rule. To this end he wedded her when but a child of five (1406) to the equally youthful John, second son of the King of France. The marriage was of course only nominal at first, but in 1415 the youthful pair were released from their school books and formally united. In 1417, John became heir to the French throne, and his father being insane, he set out with his fair young bride to rule over France as regent. The two journeyed southward together in the springtime, but hardly had they entered France when John suddenly died. He had been a weakling all his life, but both the manner and the moment of his death caused a widespread rumor that he had been poisoned.

The youthful widow was hurried home. Her father, who had accompanied her happy entry into France, now hastened her return. He knew how loath the Hollanders were to be governed by an unprotected woman, and he must make new arrangements for her. Before these could be established, he died. In less than two months poor Jacqueline, barely seventeen years old, lost husband and father, both powerful potentates and her natural protectors. The next male heir to Holland was her uncle, the Bishop of Liege, called John the Pitiless.

For a moment, misfortune seemed to hesitate at further pursuing the child widow. She made a brave, brilliant progress through her domains and was everywhere received with noisy loyalty. When Bishop John sought to assert his claim to Holland, she rode on horseback at the head of her army and defeated him. John appealed to the German Emperor, who, glad of the opportunity to assert himself, declared that the countship of Holland had lapsed to the empire by the failure of male heirs, and that he now conferred the rank upon his faithful and submissive servant, John. The matter being thus put to a plain issue, a general assembly of the Dutch knights and burghers was summoned, and this representative body flatly contradicted the Emperor, declaring that Holland was not a fief of the empire, and that Jacqueline was their lawful ruler.

Nevertheless, in order that she might have a man to assert her rights and to settle the dispute decisively, Jacqueline's advisers urged her to wed again and at once. Yielding to their aged wisdom, the poor countess within less than a year of her first husband's death married another John, the third of that name to become prominent in her life. The suitor thus chosen out of the many who sought the honor of wedding the great heiress, was her cousin, the Duke of Brabant. He was selected by Jacqueline's advisers as a matter of policy, not only because

he was ruler of a neighboring state, but because being a member of the house of Burgundy, he would have the support of its powerful duke.

As the man for the place, John of Brabant proved a failure. He was even younger than his wife, and a feeble, enervated youth, one of those sapless, worthless branches so common to the French royal stock. Jacqueline's first husband had been the same, only his early death leaves his figure less clearly outlined on the historic page. John of Liege, on the other hand, was at least a man. The Pope took up his cause and relieved him of his priestly vows that he might found a new family of counts of Holland. Hence he was Bishop John no longer, but only John the Pitiless.

When he and young John of Brabant met in battle or diplomacy the result was a foregone conclusion. John the Pitiless won contest after contest. City after city of Holland declared in his favor, until Jacqueline's feeble husband, abandoning the strife, retreated into Brabant, making a treaty with his rival which left the latter in practical possession of Holland. Naturally Jacqueline protested; but her husband found that bullying her was a far easier and more congenial task than matching himself against John the Pitiless. He ignored her complaints and made her life a misery. Driving away all her Dutch attendants, he surrounded her with his own tools. She was insulted and neglected—and she was not the woman to endure forever.

She fled suddenly from his court, from what was really a prison, and escaped to England (1419). There she was received with high honor. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the king's brother and afterward regent of the kingdom for the child Henry VI, became a suitor for her hand. Her marriage to her cousin John of Brabant had been performed in opposition to an express command from the Pope. Advantage was now taken of this to declare the unhappy union void, and Jacqueline and Humphrey were wed. In 1424 the couple led an English army to Holland to reestablish the bride in her inheritance.

They were partly successful. Humphrey defeated the forces of Brabant; the royal pair were welcomed in Hainault; and John the Pitiless died, poisoned by one of their adherents. But even in death he avenged himself by willing Holland to John of Brabant. Now this childless and feeble Brabant Duke had for heir the mighty Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, who seizing the opportunity, espoused his nephew's cause with all the strength of his powerful domains. England had long been allied with Burgundy against France; and Duke Humphrey of Gloucester was thus placed in a peculiar position, maintaining his wife's cause against his country's ally. He and Philip had hot words and finally agreed to settle their differences in ancient knightly style by personal combat. Before the contest could take place however, Humphrey, doubtless moved by many mingled emotions, abandoned Holland and withdrew to England.



Poor Jacqueline, thus left once more to her own resources, defended herself desperately against the Burgundians, and sent passionate appealing letters to Humphrey. "By my faith," she writes, "my very redoubted lord, my sole consolation and hope, I beg you for the love of God and St. George, consider the sad situation of me and my affairs more carefully than you have yet done, for you seem to have forgotten me entirely." And again, "Alas, my most dear and redoubted sire, my only hope is in your strength, seeing, my sweet lord and only delight, that all my sufferings have come from my love of you." Her moving words were of no avail. Her English husband solaced himself with another lady; her subjects in Holland hesitated between her and her discarded John, and at last, seeking peace most of all, surrendered her to Burgundy. She was imprisoned in the castle of Ghent.

Still however, the resolute woman refused to yield. Some of her adherents both in England and Holland yet clung to her. Disguised in boy's clothes, she escaped from her confinement and for three years led a wild life of adventure, fighting at the head of such troops as she could raise. She held her castle of Gouda against all comers, and in the field achieved more than one brilliant victory over the Burgundian forces. Duke Humphrey roused himself sufficiently to send a fleet from England to her aid, but it was wholly defeated. John of Brabant died in 1427, and it were well to record one good thing of him: he was interested in learning and founded the university of Louvain (1425), the earliest in the Netherlands.

His death brought the great duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, more directly into the struggle against Jacqueline. Philip now claimed Holland as his own, and summoned England as his ally to counsel the Countess to peace. On the other hand, Jacqueline, freed from the last traces of her marital chain to John, entreated Duke Humphrey to reestablish their abandoned union. The English Duke most ungallantly obeyed Philip, urged his deserted wife to yield, and wedded the English mistress who had been her rival.

In face of these blows, Jacqueline surrendered (1428). It was agreed that she was still to be called Countess of Holland and to receive some part of the revenues of the state; but she made a progress through all her cities in company with Philip, formally releasing them from allegiance and bidding them be obedient to the Burgundians. She also promised not to wed again without Philip's consent. Her claims might still have been dangerous in some strong king's hands.

Here Jacqueline passes out of political history, the tale of jangling states. But romance was still to be hers, happiness perhaps, after all her sorrows. Philip's governor over Holland was Lord Francis Borselen. The governor's duties threw him much into the company of Jacqueline. Love, most unaccountable of flowers, seems really to have sprung up between the two. In 1432, they were secretly



married. Philip learning of this, threw Borselen into prison and threatened his death. To save him Jacqueline abandoned everything that remained to her, renounced her empty title, and with her liberated husband retired to a secluded estate, where the two dwelt in peace and apparent devotion until her death in 1436. Lord Francis was then restored to a post of trust, and had what must have been the keen satisfaction of defeating Duke Humphrey of England when the latter, his alliance with Burgundy having failed at last, attacked the Netherlands once again.

Jacqueline's long struggle is important historically. It must be compared to that of the Artevelde in Flanders; for little as the Dutch cities realized it, their liberty was dependent upon her victory. She ruled in the policy of her ancestors who had encouraged them in self-reliance and assertion. Her fall placed her people with Flanders under the house of Burgundy, a race of rulers who guarded the material prosperity of their subjects, but vigorously trampled every liberty underfoot.

With the establishment of the supremacy of Philip the Good, the history of the Netherlands becomes merged for a time in that of Burgundy. Philip, though in name only a Duke, was in reality more powerful than any sovereign of his time, imposing his will upon the enfeebled rulers of both France and Germany. At this period only Italy could rival the Low Countries in wealth; and Italy was divided into many petty states; the Netherlands had now been all absorbed into one. Moreover, its military strength while vigorous in Philip's hands, was useless for defense against him, since each city was antagonistic to the others, easily to be brought to Philip's side by some promise of commercial advantage over its rivals.

Hence, playing one metropolis against another, Philip became the despotic master of all. One by one, he took away their ancient privileges. He heaped taxes on them till his was the richest court in Europe. Bruges rebelled (1436), and seized upon the person of the Duke's wife and little son, afterward Charles the Bold. Philip liberated the captives, half by force, half fraud, and blockaded the city until its people starved and surrendered, so trampled down as never to regain their former splendor. Ghent also resented the Duke's exactions, and was vigorously suppressed.

In return for the liberty he took away, Philip gave the Netherlanders security. The nobles who had preyed upon the country from their strong castles and, arms in hand, exacted toll from what merchandise they could, now became dependents of Philip, mere silk-clothed courtiers idling in his train. Hence the Netherland tradesfolk, valuing prosperity and quiet far more than any abstract ideal of self-government, gradually acquiesced in the new order of life. They were in fact the first to give their new ruler the name of "the Good," which sounds oddly enough when contrasted with some of his treacheries and usurpations.

Admirers of the beautiful are also wont to speak in highest terms of the period of Burgundian supremacy in the Netherlands. The splendor-loving Philip and his successors encouraged art and literature. The Van Eycks, earliest of the great Flemish painters, flourished under Philip. Literature of the most elaborate sort became the amusement of the wealthy citizens. They established "chambers of rhetoric," which held poetic contests called "Land jewels." These grew to be national institutions and were accompanied by gorgeous pageants. Lawrence Coster of Haarlem is said to have invented the art of printing in 1440; and though the claim of the German, Gutenberg, is more generally accepted, the new art found immediate and wide support in Holland and the other Low Countries as well. Wealth, splendor, and the gradual stirring of the intellect to deeper thoughts,—these are the keynotes of the Burgundian period.

In 1467, Philip, grown very old and feeble, died and was succeeded by his even more widely known son, Charles, whose nickname we have carelessly translated into English as "the bold." Really it is "*le téméraire*," the rash, the "overbold," a qualification of far different significance. The story of the long struggle of Charles the Overbold against the crafty Louis XI belongs with the tales of France and Burgundy. The Netherlands were to Charles only the store-house whence he drew supplies of men and money. When the cities rebelled, he chastised them, especially Liege, which he ruined completely, battering down its walls and executing all of its chief citizens. In his brief reign of ten years, he outraged every feeling of his subjects, trampled on their every privilege, and squandered all the enormous wealth his father had accumulated. Then he perished in the battle of Nancy, falling as much a victim to the disgust and hatred of his own subjects, as to the valor of the Swiss.

This sudden death of Charles the Overbold left his rich domains to his daughter Mary of Burgundy, an heiress whose unhappy career has been made the theme of many comparisons with that of Jacqueline, the Countess of Holland, whom Philip, Mary's grandfather, had found in similar plight and so mercilessly despoiled. Much of Mary's inheritance was seized by Louis XI. The Netherlands remained to her, only because they were strong enough to choose a ruler for themselves; and with shrewd merchant craft, the people saw they could make a better bargain with Mary than with Louis or any other.

The "States-General" of Flanders, a body organized under the Burgundians and consisting of the chief nobles and burghers, met to decide the succession to the realm. Its members were joined by deputies from the other provinces. They exacted from Mary the "Great Privilege" (1477), the celebrated document which still stands at the base of all Netherland law and freedom. It was a charter confirming to the people every right they had ever possessed.

For a brief period the cities resumed over the court that control which the

Burgundian dukes had wrested from them. So helpless was Mary in the hands of her tyrannical subjects, that they executed two of her chief officials before her very eyes. These men had been detected in treacherous correspondence with Louis XI against Flanders; and though Mary rushed before their judges with dishevelled hair and robe, and appeared afterward at the place of execution in the same desperate plight to plead for her friends upon her knees, the two courtiers were beheaded in the market place of Ghent.

Then came the problem of Mary's marriage, that like Jacqueline she might have "a man to defend her heritage." Her arrogant father had once refused her hand to Maximilian, the son of the impoverished German Emperor. Now the rejected suitor was selected by Mary and her Flemish advisers as the most available of the long list of candidates who approached her. Maximilian, afterward Emperor and head of the great Austrian house of Hapsburg, thus became the bridge by which the low countries passed under the dominion of Austria and afterward of Spain, both of which states came under Hapsburg rule.

Yet Maximilian was never himself the titular sovereign of the Netherlands; he was only guardian of the provinces for Mary, and when she died five years later, he became guardian for their baby son, Philip the Fair. The hatred bred in the Netherlands against Charles the Bold passed down as an inheritance against Maximilian. During Mary's lifetime it did not break into open violence, especially as the Flemings dreaded Louis of France and his dangerous schemes. Maximilian put an end to these by defeating the French in the battle of Guinegate (1479) and Flemish independence of France was again secure. The power of Maximilian seemed to the burghers to become more dangerous with each of his successes; and on his wife's death, instead of admitting his authority, the States-General of Flanders made virtual prisoner of his son Philip and claimed the regency for itself in Philip's name.

Civil war followed between Maximilian and the cities. Step by step the Hapsburg lord re-established his authority. In 1485, he defeated the troops of Ghent and rescued his little son from the hands of the burghers. In 1488, it was their turn. Maximilian was made prisoner in Bruges and confined there for seven months, until he yielded all that his jailors demanded. The French king, not Louis XI but his successor, was made guardian of little Philip; and Maximilian agreed to abandon the Netherlands and return to Germany.

No sooner was he released from confinement, than he repudiated the oaths he had taken under compulsion, and re-invaded the Netherlands at the head of a German army raised for him by his father, the Emperor. He was not specially successful, and for four years more the war dragged on. It was no longer conducted by Maximilian, who as heir to the dominions of his aged father had other tasks, but by his German generals. These in 1492 were able to report to him

that the Netherlands was once more beaten into subjection. The "Great Privilege" was abrogated, though not forgotten by the people. And thus in the very year of the discovery of America, the persistent struggle of the Dutch and Flemish people for liberty again met temporary defeat. They sank back into an enforced submission, no longer as a Burgundian but as a Hapsburg province.

Maximilian's son, young Philip the Fair, ruled in his own name from 1494. He wedded the half-insane Joanna, daughter of the Spanish sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella; and when, through the death of nearer heirs, Joanna became ruler of most of Spain, Philip took control of her possessions in her name. He died, and all the domains of his family, Spain, Austria, Italy, the Netherlands, gradually gathered to his young son Charles, afterward the celebrated Emperor Charles V.

Charles was born in Ghent while his father reigned there (1500), and was practically a Fleming. During his childhood, his grandfather Maximilian was once more regent of the Netherlands; though, being Emperor now, Maximilian wisely delegated the protection of Charles' domains to his daughter, Charles' aunt Margaret. She was a capable and vigorous ruler, and despite many difficulties preserved for her young nephew an undiminished power and sovereignty in the Netherlands. In 1515, Charles entered Antwerp in royal procession, and there began his varied and tumultuous experience as a ruler of many nations.

Whatever opinion we may form of the mighty Emperor in his dealings with the rest of Europe, it cannot be denied that to the Low Countries he was a wise and upon the whole a popular sovereign. For one thing, he reduced them to a unit. We hear no more of the separate provinces of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zealand, Friesland and so on, each acknowledging a different ruler and rushing into war against the others. He attached the entire region firmly to the German Empire, to which before it had sometimes acknowledged, sometimes refused allegiance, but which had never given it military protection or received from it effective military aid.

Moreover under Charles the burghers were prosperous. A Fleming himself, he knew how to win the merchants' hearts, and he did everything to aid them in their trade. For this he secured bountiful return. In the period of his greatest splendor when his income from all his other vast possessions combined, Germany, Italy, Spain and the golden Indies of America, amounted to three million ducats, the little Low Countries by themselves supplied him with two million. Ghent was probably at this time the wealthiest and perhaps the largest city in the world. When Charles one year laid a tax of 1,200,000 ducats upon Flanders, he expected Ghent to supply one third the whole, an exaction which in our day would scarcely be equalled by twenty millions of dollars. At this the burghers of Ghent planned another rebellion, insisting upon laying their own tax in accordance with the "Great Privilege."



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